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ABSTRACT

This study, conducted in Berkeley, California, was designed to test the hypothesis that socially integrated high school students would not be involved in interracial violence and conflict, while students who were socially isolated would. Data were collected by means of a questionnaire, sent to the 1970 graduating class of Berkeley High School, which asked the students to report on extortions, fights, and verbal threats. The responding students were divided into six social integration groups: (1) Asian- socially isolated; (2) black-socially isolated; (3) white- socially isolated; (4) Asian-socially integrated; (5) black- socially integrated; and, (6) white-socially integrated. The set of questions on verbal threats offered no evidence in support of or against the hypothesis under test. Threats were extremely infrequent. Data generated from responses to questions regarding fights did not support the hypothesis. Fighting occurred more within racial groups than across racial groups. Data on student extortions partially supported the hypothesis. Extortion was practiced mainly by blacks against whites and Asians but seemed unrelated to levels of integration. (MK)

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Social Integration and School Violence in a Multiracial Northern High School

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Violence in the Schools: True or Just Hearsay?

There is a belief among the general public that conflict and violence among high school students is a common occurrence, especially in schools that are racially mixed. One source of this point of view is, undoubtedly, the news media and, in particular, local newspapers. An example is provided by the experience of Berkeley, California, the first city of over 100,000 population to voluntarily desegregate its schools. Over the years the local newspaper has carried headlines such as, "BHS 'Climate of Fear' is Told," "Pervading Atmosphere of Tension in Schools," "Warning on Violence--Principal Fears for BHS Students," and others, with stories to match.[1] With news stories like these, it is not surprising that the impression of violence in the schools persists. Official recognition has been given to the problem by the California State Department of Education which reported that, "Violence, the most extreme form of conflict, does exist but to a much lesser degree than anticipated." Yet, in this same report it was noted that, "Much of school violence tends to be interracial and ethnic in nature," (California State Department of Education, 1973).

While the public obtains most of its information about conflict and violence from local newspapers, the source of information about this aspect of school is not obvious. While newspapers may interview teachers and administrators to gather data for publication, students who spend the major part of their day in school or going to and from school are rarely asked to report on what they have seen and experienced with respect to fights, quarrels, threats, or extortions on the part of peers of

the same or other racial and ethnic backgrounds. In this paper, the responses of 250 students from the racially mixed high school of Berkeley, California are examined in light of the violence individual students reported as personally having experienced over their last six schools years in the District's integrated setting.

Purpose of the Study.

In 1965, the Berkeley Unified School District desegregated its three junior high schools by changing school boundaries.[2] Most of the students who graduated in 1970 were involved with the desegregation program from its inception. Because of their unique status, it was decided to ask them about their school experiences during the previous six school years. For this survey, the cooperation of teachers was solicited and a number of counselors and teachers from the Social Studies Department at Berkeley High School assisted in the preparation of the questionnaire.

After lengthy and spirited debates, items relating to inter- and intra-racial quarrels, fights, shakedowns, and threats were designed and included in the questionnaire. It was the expressed opinion of some teachers that violence was a common occurrence on the campus and that the prevailing strife generated a general fear of other students. As a consequence, social isolation with respect to race and other ethnic characteristics was the final outcome. It seemed that, although the high school was technically desegregated, it was not in fact socially integrated.[3] Teachers and counselors alike agreed that the student body was generally divided along racial lines and that this

division was particularly observable in social situations.

From these discussions, the idea emerged that students who were socially integrated across racial boundaries were rarely involved with the perceived violence and conflict on the campus, while agressive acts, in the main, involved students whose friends and companions were of a different race. For this reason, questions designed to measure how well the students at Berkeley High School were socially integrated were added to the questionnaire designed to study the effects of a policy of complete integration on the first cohort to be involved from the seventh through the twelfth grades. It was hypothesized that socially integrated students would not be involved with interracial violence and conflict while students who were not socially integrated would be involved with interracial conflict.

Source of the Data.

Data for this analysis were collected by means of a questionnaire sent to about a third of the 1970 graduating class of Berkeley High School. In the original planning of the study, it had been decided to test students in the school prior to graduation, but this plan had to be abandoned because on the scheduled day of the testing, students were not available. The events of May 1970 following the Cambodian invasion and the Kent State and Jackson State shootings, resulted in student protests and demonstrations and the closing of Berkeley High School. For these reasons, the questionnaires were mailed to the graduates with address labels supplied by the school administration. From the set of 328 returned responses, complete useable data were

obtained for 169 females and 140 males. Details of the sampling procedure are described by Marascuilo and Dagenais in a number of other papers.[4]

In the 1975 paper, a thorough presentation is made on how 18 friendship and social interaction items of the questionnaire were used to define six groups of students who were homogeneous with respect to friendship patterns between and within races. The method, utilizing Tryon's clustering procedure, is described in considerable detail by these authors in that report.[5] The resulting six groups of students based on 250 correctly classified (by race) responses constitute the independent variables of this investigation. In particular, the six groups which emerged from the Tryon cluster analysis can be characterized as follows:

Group One: Asian students who are socially isolated on the basis of race. They mix mainly, and often exclusively, with other Asians.

Group Two: Black students who are socially isolated on the basis of race. They mix mainly, and often exclusively, with other Blacks.

Group Three: White students who are socially isolated on the basis of race. They mix mainly, and often exclusively, with other Whites.

Group Four: Asian students who are socially integrated with Blacks, Whites, or both.

Group Five: Black students who are socially integrated with Asians, Whites, or both.

Group Six: White students who are socially integrated with

Asians, Blacks, or both.

These six groups essentially define the cells of a two by three factorial design with the factors being social integration measured at two levels and race observed at three levels.

Method of Analysis for Selected Items Appearing on the Questionnaire.

The questionnaire on which this analysis is based contained 144 specific items of which 18 were used to classify the students into the six groups which define the independent variables of this study. Many other items were included in the questionnaire for specific studies and are not included in this analysis. The ones used for this analysis are listed in Table 1.

-----Insert Table 1 about here-----

The original intention was to assign a Likert scale to the set of ordered responses and then to analyze the data by analysis of variance. This procedure had to be abandoned since relatively few students selected response choices VERY OFTEN, OFTEN, or MORE THAN TWICE. Therefore, responses have been dichotomized as NEVER and SOMETIMES. The response choice SOMETIMES corresponds to a modal response of about two or three times. With this dichotomization, Chi-square tests of homogeneity were conducted across the six groups at significance levels of $p \leq .05$. With five degrees of freedom, any $\chi^2 \geq 11.07$ represents a significant difference among the proportions of the six groups. Any significant result is then investigated in terms of five planned comparisons with any comparison considered significant if $\chi^2 \geq 6.64$, the $p = .01$ value for one degree of freedom.[6] The exact nature of each planned comparison is ap-

parent in the results and discussion sections that follow.

Results.

The 18 Chi-square values for the six three-part questions of Table 1 are summarized in Table 2 according to race of the suggested opponent. As can be seen, six of the hypotheses

-----Insert Table 2 about here-----

of no difference in response percentages across the six social integration groups are rejected. Four of these differences concern Blacks as the focus of violence or agression, while the remaining two significant differences in proportions involve Whites. It should be noted that at the time of testing, about 10 percent of the student body was Asian. Blacks and Whites were equally divided at about 45 percent each.

As indicated, no significant differences are detected across the six social integration groups when Asians are indicated as a participant in the violence or conflict. Not only are the percentage differences for the Asian antagonists not statistically significant, they are also low in value. Across the 250 students on which this analysis is based, only 11 report being shaken down by an Asian during their junior high school years. During the senior high school years, only nine students report having had such an encounter. For all practical purposes, it can be concluded that the incidence of Asians as extortionists on the school campus is indeed low. However, 52, or 21 percent, of the total respondents report having had at least one fight or quarrel with an Asian during the junior high school years. Of these 52 students, only four were Asians. As a test of the hy-

pothesis of this investigation, the observed percentage difference, while being in the predicted direction, is not significant at $p \leq .01$, even though it is significant at $p \leq .05$. During the senior high school years, 51 students report having had a fight or quarrel with an Asian. Of these 51 students, nine were Asians. Again, the difference is not statistically significant, even though it is in the predicted direction. Finally, Asians do not threaten other students. Only two students report being threatened by Asians during the junior high school years. During the senior high school years, only one student indicated that a physical threat was made by an Asian classmate. As these statistics indicate, Asians are rarely identified as perpetrators of shakedowns, fights, or threats to classmates of like or unlike race. In addition, it is apparent that the statistics for the Asians do not support the hypothesis that agression is directed toward students who are socially isolated on the basis of race.

Among the Blacks, the results are quite different. First, it is seen that no differences in percentages exist across the isolates and integrates concerning extortions by Blacks. At the $p \leq .01$ level, the difference, $\Delta = .40 - .49$ (percent in each category) is not significant. Across the two groups, 45 percent of the respondents reported that during their junior high school years, Blacks had shaken them down or ripped them off for money, food, books, etc., at least once. In terms of the five planned comparisons of Table 3, it is seen that among students who are

-----Insert Table 3 about here-----

isolated, the percentage difference of $\Delta = .18 - .59$, concerning extortions by Blacks on other Blacks and nonblacks is significant

at $p \leq .01$. As indicated, 18 percent of the isolated Blacks and 59 percent of the isolated Nonblacks report being ripped off by Blacks. In this case, the hypothesis of violence directed toward the social isolates is clearly supported. According to the third contrast, Asians and Whites who are not socially integrated with Blacks serve as equally likely targets for shakedowns. For this comparison, its percentage difference, $\Delta = .56 - .60$ is not significant. Since the difference in percentages is not significant, it is concluded that Blacks who rip off Nonblacks, make no distinctions between Asians and Whites when selecting a target to extort during the junior high school years. Essentially the same findings hold for the socially integrated groups. However, the fourth planned percentage difference, $\Delta = .26 - .52$, is not significant at $p \leq .01$, but is significant at $p \leq .05$. For this comparison, the percentage difference is in the predicted direction. As with the isolated groups, there is no distinction made by Blacks concerning the ripping off of Asians or Whites. For this fifth comparison, $\Delta = .57 - .52$ is not significant. Essentially, the percentage differences are in agreement with the main hypothesis under test.

In terms of Question 2, it is seen that no differences in percentage exist across the isolated or integrated students with respect to fights or quarrels with Blacks: $\Delta = .56 - .62$ is not significant. Among the entire set of students, 59 percent report fights with Blacks during the junior high school years. In terms of the five planned comparisons reported in Table 3 for Question 2, there are significant differences in the percentages of reported fights and quarrels for the comparison of Blacks with

Nonblacks among the isolated students, but the difference, Δ = .74 - .41, is not in the predicted direction. Of the isolated Black students, 74 percent reported quarrels or fights with other Black students during their junior high school years. Among the isolated Asians and Whites, 41 percent report fighting or quarreling with a Black. Breaking this proportion down into its two components, it is seen that 19 percent of the Asians and 50 percent of the Whites report fights with Blacks. The difference, Δ = .19 - .50, in these proportions is not significant at $p \leq .01$, but is significant at $p \leq .05$. The same patterns noted for the comparison of Blacks with Nonblacks among the isolated students also holds for the integrated students. In this case, Δ = .84 - .58 indicates that during the junior high school years, 84 percent of the integrated Black students reported fights with other Blacks and 58 percent of the integrated Nonblacks also report fights with Blacks. Again, no distinction is made between Asians and Whites, since Δ = .43 - .62 is not significant at $p \leq .01$. While there is support for the hypothesis originally proposed, the evidence isn't very strong, since Blacks fight often with both isolated and integrated Blacks during the junior high school years.

In terms of the five planned comparisons for Question 4 of Table 3, it is seen that 42 percent of the total respondents report being shaken down by Blacks during the senior high school years. Within the isolates, Blacks shake down 15 percent of the other Blacks in the school and 54 percent of the Nonwhites. These percentages are essentially the same as reported for the junior high school years. While there were not any significant differ-

ences between Asians and Whites as a target for an extortion in the early school years, that picture seems to have changed during the senior high school years. Thirty-one percent of the Asians and 63 percent of the Whites report being shaken down for books, money, food, etc. This percentage difference, $\Delta = .31 - .63$, is not significant at $p \leq .01$ but is at $p \leq .05$. Among the integrated students, the same findings are observed, except that both comparisons are statistically significant at $p \leq .01$. Eleven percent of the integrated Blacks and 51 percent of the integrated Asians and Whites were victims of extortion on the part of Blacks during the senior high school years. However, a greater proportion of Whites were extorted when compared to Asians. In this case, the percentage difference, $\Delta = .23 - .57$, is significant at $p \leq .01$.

While extortions, shake downs, and rip offs continued at a high level during the senior high school years, it appears that fights and quarrels with students who are Black decreased. Forty-nine percent of the respondents report having had such conflicts. However, the percentages only decreased for fights between Blacks, but not for fights between Blacks and Asians or between Blacks and Whites. Within the isolated Black students, fights with other Blacks declined from 74 percent to 54 percent, but among Nonwhites, the percentage change of 41 percent to 39 percent represents a decrease of only two percentage points. Among the integrated Blacks, fights with other Blacks declined from a high of 84 percent to a low of 37 percent, but among the Nonwhites the percentage change of 58 percent to 54 percent represents a decrease of only four percentage points. Of the five

planned comparisons, the only one that is significant at $p \leq .01$ indicates that among the socially integrated students, 23 percent of the Asians and 60 percent of the Whites had fights or quarrels with Blacks during their senior high school years. In terms of all these comparisons, it must be concluded that the observed data do not support the hypothesis of this study.

For violence involving White students, it is seen that none of the five planned comparisons for Question 2, reported in Table 4, are significant at $p \leq .01$. However, it is seen that within the social isolates, 25 percent of the Asians and 57 percent of the Black students reported having at least one fight or quarrel with White students. This difference is significant at $p \leq .05$. Essentially the same figures hold for the integrated students. For those students, 29 percent of the Asians and 67 percent of the Blacks report fights with Whites during the junior high school years. This difference is also significant at $p \leq .05$. It is worth noting that the percentages reported for the Blacks agree quite well with the corresponding figures supplied by the Whites in Table 3. Since 55 percent of the isolated Whites and 61 percent of the integrated Whites report fights or quarrels with other Whites, the hypothesis of agression directed toward an out-group is not supported by these data.

-----Insert Table 4 about here-----

As reported for the fight data with Blacks, fights with Whites decreased significantly during the later school years. Fights which Whites had with isolated Whites decreased from 54 percent to 42 percent. For integrated Whites, the percentage decreased from 61 percent to 53 percent. Among the isolated

Whites, no fights were reported with Asians, while 42 percent of the isolated Whites reported at least one fight with a Black. The difference, $\Delta = .00 - .42$, is significant at $p \leq .01$. Among the integrated students, 53 percent report fights with other Whites and 22 percent report fights with Nonwhites. This difference of $\Delta = .53 - .22$ is significant at $p \leq .01$. However, fights by Whites with Asians or Blacks are equally likely and so no distinction is made toward the students of either ethnic group. In any case, these data do not lend much credence to the originally proposed hypothesis since Whites in senior high school seem to fight more frequently with other Whites than they do with Asians or Blacks.

Discussion.

The findings of this study do not provide unqualified support to the hypothesis that violence between students in an integrated setting is mainly a function of how well the students are integrated across racial groups. The hypothesis was examined by means of three sets of questions. One set asked students to report on extortions by Asians, Blacks, and Whites. The second set asked students to report on fights or quarrels with Asians, Blacks, and Whites. The third set asked students to report on verbal threats made by students who were Asian, Black, and White. For the most part, the third set of questions offered no evidence either in support of, or against, the hypothesis under test. It appears that threats of violence were never strong enough to upset a student to the point that he or she would stay away from school. Of the 250 students on which this analysis is based,

only two were threatened by Asians, 34 by Blacks, and 13 by Whites during their junior high school years. During the senior high school years, the corresponding numbers are given by 1, 27, and 4, respectively. While threats do occur, their number is so small as to preclude their use in any standard statistical test of the hypothesis of interest. In any case, as reported in Table 2, none of the six Chi-square tests across the six racial-social integration groups are significant. Unfortunately, data is lacking on the frequency of threats in schools that are mainly Black or mainly White, but if they occurred with the small frequencies observed in this school it would be concluded that school integration has no effect upon verbal threats made between students of like or different races.

The data generated from the responses to set two concerning fights and quarrels among students of various races does not support the hypothesis of this study. Intra-race fights by Blacks are frequent among both socially isolated and socially integrated Blacks. For these two groups, 74 percent of the isolated Blacks and 84 percent of the integrated Blacks report having at least one fight or quarrel with another Black during the junior high school years. For the senior high school years, the corresponding percentages have dropped to 54 percent and 37 percent, respectively. The evidence against the hypothesis is also apparent in the White data, for among the isolated and integrated Whites at least one fight with another White during the junior high school years is reported by 55 percent of the isolated Whites and 61 percent of the integrated Whites. During the senior high school years, the corresponding percentages are 42 percent and

53 percent.

Even the data for fights and quarrels across race does not support the hypothesis. During the junior high school years, fights with Blacks are reported by 19 percent of the isolated Asians and by 43 percent of the integrated Asians. Among the Whites, the corresponding percentages are given by 50 percent and 62 percent. Thus, for these groups, fights appear to be unrelated to racial or social isolation or integration. The same is true for fights with Whites. Twenty-five percent of the isolated Asians and 29 percent of the integrated Asians report fights with Whites. For Blacks, the corresponding percentages are 57 percent and 67 percent.

During the senior high school years, 25 percent of the isolated Asians, 23 percent of the integrated Asians, 45 percent of the isolated Whites, and 60 percent of the integrated Whites report having at least one fight or quarrel with a Black. At the same time, none of the isolated Asians, 18 percent of the integrated Asians, 42 percent of the isolated Blacks, and 26 percent of the integrated Blacks report at least one fight or quarrel with a White. None of these figures support the hypothesis.

On the other hand, these figures indicate there is a large amount of fighting and quarreling between students of the same and of different races. It also appears that the disagreements are not exclusively of a racial nature and therefore cannot be attributed to the integrated school setting. If data were available for mainly Black or White schools, one could perhaps better evaluate these findings. In any case, the public's notion

that violence is common in the school is certainly supported by this data, but that it is racial in nature is not supported. As to whether the interactions are truly violent or only minor skirmishes is not clear. A more probing question concerning the extent of the fighting or quarreling was clearly called for on the questionnaire. A fight with knives, with fists, or just body movements are three different kinds of violent interactions. It is reasonable to assume that the majority of these conflicts involved only shoving and body actions and are not of significant concern. In any case, the nature of the violence reported by these students is not known.

It should be noted that the data on student extortion is in partial support of the hypothesis. Extortions generally take place across different races and not within races. During the junior high school years, 18 percent of the isolated Blacks report at least one extortion by another Black. For the integrated Blacks, the corresponding percentage is given by 26 percent. For the isolated Asian and White students, the percentages are 56 percent and 60 percent, respectively. For the integrated Asian and White students, the corresponding percentages are 57 percent and 52 percent. For the senior high school years, 15 percent of the isolated Blacks, 31 percent of the isolated Asians, 63 percent of the isolated Whites, 11 percent of the integrated Blacks, 23 percent of the integrated Asians, and 62 percent of the integrated Whites report at least one extortion encounter with Blacks. While these percentages do not lend unqualified credence to the isolated-integrated hypothesis, they do show that extortions occur mainly across race.

In any case, it appears that extortion is a tactic used by Blacks against Whites and Asians. Whereas fighting does not have a racial element to it, extortion does. These data indicate that Asians and Whites rarely extort other students, but when Blacks extort, and they seem to do it with great frequency, they tend to extort from Asians and Whites. Whether or not extortion goes on in mainly Black schools is not known, but if it does not, then it would have to be concluded that it is an activity of the integrated school.

Finally, it might be concluded that a true test of the hypothesis was not made in this study. To see this, consider the Asian isolates. They are asked if they had been ripped off by Asians, Blacks, or Whites. They are not asked if they had been ripped off by isolated Asians, integrated Asians, isolated Blacks, integrated Blacks, isolated Whites, or integrated Whites. An Asian who rips off an Asian could have been isolated or integrated. From the way the questions were asked, there is no way to know. This does not mean that the study should be repeated since it appears from this evidence that the hypothesis must be rejected. Threats to other students are so infrequent that they must be looked upon as isolated events, unrelated to race or level of integration. Fights occur within race more often than they occur between races, so that it would appear that levels of integration have no influence upon their occurrence. Finally, extortion is an activity practiced mainly by Blacks and it, too, seems to be unrelated to levels of integration. It is an activity that Blacks pull on Asians and Whites, probably because in Berkeley the latter groups are more affluent. As long as the students

continue to come from economically and socially different backgrounds, these activities will most likely persist. Whether or not they will be ameliorated by social integration or school integration remains an open question.

Table 1. Questions Used in the Comparison Across the Six Socially Integrated Groups.

1. During your JUNIOR high school years were you ever shaken down or ripped off for money, food, books, etc., by a student who was:

	(6 or more times)	(3-5 times)	(1-2 times)	(0)
a Asian?	VERY OFTEN	OFTEN	RARELY	NEVER
b Black?	VERY OFTEN	OFTEN	RARELY	NEVER
c White?	VERY OFTEN	OFTEN	RARELY	NEVER

2. During your JUNIOR high school years, how often were you involved in a fight, quarrel, or argument with another student who was:

	(6 or more)	(3 to 5)	(1 to 2)	(0)
a Asian?	VERY OFTEN	OFTEN	RARELY	NEVER
b Black?	VERY OFTEN	OFTEN	RARELY	NEVER
c White?	VERY OFTEN	OFTEN	RARELY	NEVER

3. During your JUNIOR high school years, how often did you go home early or stay away from school because you had been threatened by a student who was:

a Asian?	NEVER	ONCE OR TWICE	MORE THAN TWICE
b Black?	NEVER	ONCE OR TWICE	MORE THAN TWICE
c White?	NEVER	ONCE OR TWICE	MORE THAN TWICE

4. During your SENIOR high school years were you ever shaken down or ripped off for money, food, books, etc., by a student who was:

	(6 or more times)	(3-5 times)	(1-2 times)	(0)
a Asian?	VERY OFTEN	OFTEN	RARELY	NEVER
b Black?	VERY OFTEN	OFTEN	RARELY	NEVER
c White?	VERY OFTEN	OFTEN	RARELY	NEVER

5. During your SENIOR high school years, how often were you involved in a fight, quarrel, or argument with another student who was:

	(6 or more)	(3 to 5)	(1 to 2)	(0)
a Asian?	VERY OFTEN	OFTEN	RARELY	NEVER
b Black?	VERY OFTEN	OFTEN	RARELY	NEVER
c White?	VERY OFTEN	OFTEN	RARELY	NEVER

6. During your SENIOR high school years, how often did you go home early or stay away from school because you had been threatened by a student who was:

a Asian?	NEVER	ONCE OR TWICE	MORE THAN TWICE
b Black?	NEVER	ONCE OR TWICE	MORE THAN TWICE
c White?	NEVER	ONCE OR TWICE	MORE THAN TWICE

Table 2. Chi-square Values According to Question and Race of the Suggested Opponent.

Question	Race of the Opponent		
	Asian	Black	White
1. Shakedowns in junior high school years.	3.35	24.56*	4.73
2. Fights in junior high school years.	6.14	23.86*	14.41*
3. Threats in junior high school years.	6.05	4.06	8.77
4. Shake downs in senior high school years.	2.84	40.90*	8.59
5. Fights in senior high school years.	10.27	16.75*	24.23*
6. Threats in senior high school years	.01	6.08	10.60

*Significant at $p \leq .05$; $\chi^2_{5:.95} = 11.07$

Table 3. Chi-square Values and Percentage Differences for Five Planned Comparisons for Items for Which Blacks are Opponents.

Source of Variance	degrees freedom	Question 1 Value of χ^2 (% diff.)	Question 2 Value of χ^2 (% diff.)	Question 4 Value of χ^2 (% diff.)	Question 5 Value of χ^2 (% diff.)
Total***	5	25.10	23.69	41.21	16.90
Between isolates and integrates	1	2.06 (.40 - .49)	.87 (.56 - .62)	2.28 (.36 - .46)	.67 (.46 - .51)
Within isolates	2				
Between Blacks and Nonblacks	1	18.14* (.18 - .59)	11.05* (.74 - .41)	16.07* (.15 - .54)	2.30 (.54 - .39)
Between Asians and Whites	1	.08 (.56 - .60)	4.61** (.19 - .50)	4.49** (.31 - .63)	1.92 (.25 - .45)
Within integrates	2				
Between Blacks and Nonblacks	1	4.63** (.26 - .52)	4.65** (.84 - .58)	10.00* (.11 - .51)	1.85 (.37 - .54)
Between Asians and Whites	1	.19 (.57 - .52)	2.51 (.43 - .62)	8.37* (.23 - .57)	10.16* (.23 - .60)

*Significant at $p \leq .01$; $\chi^2_{1:.99} = 6.64$

**Significant at $p \leq .05$; $\chi^2_{1:.95} = 3.84$

***Sum of individual components does not equal total, since contrasts are not orthogonal because of the unequal sample sizes.

Table 4. Chi-square Values and Percentage Differences for Five Planned Comparisons for Items for which Whites are Opponents.

Source of Variance	degrees freedom	Question 2 Value of χ^2 (% diff.)	Question 5 Value of χ^2 (% diff.)
Total***	5	14.37	23.75
Between isolates and integrates	1	.75 (.51 - .57)	1.95 (.36 - .44)
Within isolates	2		
Between Whites and Nonwhites	1	.33 (.55 - .49)	1.36 (.42 - .31)
Between Asians and Blacks	1	5.03** (.25 - .57)	8.29* (.00 - .42)
Within integrates	2		
Between Whites and Nonwhites	1	2.69 (.61 - .46)	11.76* (.53 - .22)
Between Asians and Blacks	1	5.66** (.29 - .67)	.39 (.18 - .26)

*Significant at $p \leq .01$; $\chi^2_{1:.99} = 6.64$

**Significant at $p \leq .05$; $\chi^2_{1:.95} = 3.84$

***Sum of the individual components does not equal total, since contrasts are not orthogonal because of the unequal sample sizes.

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Tryon, Robert C., and Daniel E. Bailey. Cluster Analysis. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1970.

Endnotes.

[1]For example, see Berkeley Daily Gazette of December 10, 1971, February 13, 1973, and February 22, 1973. For perspective on another city, see the San Francisco Examiner of December 1, 1974.

[2]For an early account and appraisal of this, see Coleman, J. S., and associates, Equality of Educational Opportunity, Washington, D. C., 1966.

[3]For a discussion of the semantics of desegregation-integration and what integration means to the students at Berkeley High School, see Marascuilo, Leonard A., and F. Dagenais, The Meaning of the Word 'Integration' to Seniors in a Multi-racial High School, J. of Negro Education, 43, 1974a.

[4]See the following for a complete discussion of the sampling procedure: Marascuilo, Leonard A. (1972), Dagenais, F., and Leonard A. Marascuilo (1972), Marascuilo, Leonard A., and F. Dagenais (1974b), and Dagenais, F., and Leonard A. Marascuilo (1975).

[5]Separate cluster analyses were run for boys and for girls, but the results were virtually identical. Boys and girls have been combined for this study. See Marascuilo, Leonard A., and F. Dagenais (1974b) for the separate analyses.

[6]The use of planned comparisons in Chi-square tests of homogeneity is described in Marascuilo, Leonard A. and Maryellen McSweeney (in press).